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EDITED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND EGYPTOLOGY, TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO, ONT., CANADA.

IN COLLABORATION WITH JOHN A. MAYNARD, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE,
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THE READJUSTMENT OF ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY BY THE ELIMINATION OF FALSE SYNCHRONISMS

By W. F. ALBRIGHT, Jerusalem

EVER since the publication in 1907 of the KING Chronicle, with its proof of the partial contemporaneity of the Second Dynasty of Babylon with the First and Third, and its laconic entry *"Ilu-šumma šar mât Aššur ana tarši mSu(mu)abu*, there have been two opposed schools of Babylonian chronologists, one wishing to place the First Dynasty nearly two centuries earlier than the other would allow. Nearly all the material for the discussion has come from Assyrian sources, especially since WEIDNER and SCHROEDER have made numerous Assyrian king-lists and synchronistic tables available by publication. The results as developed by WEIDNER in his important monograph, *Die Könige von Assyrien* (Leipzig, 1921), with modifications in a later paper (JSOR 6, 121—7),¹ have convinced most scholars, though there are still a few irreconcilables, like the present writer² and

¹ The alteration of the order of fourteenth century Babylonian kings in the latter paper is hardly an improvement. The erroneous list, in flat disagreement with Egyptian data, published in *Studien*, was corrected in *Könige*, where it agrees exactly with the writer's list RA 18, 91—2. In the new arrangement WEIDNER rejects the clear evidence of Chronicle P, so well treated by him previously in *Studien*, p. 53, n. 3, evidence which only permits the order given by WEIDNER in *Könige*. It may be added that the word *mār* often means "descendant," especially when a king's father was a weakling or never reigned, as may have been the case with Karaindaš II, for example.

² See RA 18, 83—94. Weidner's observations JSOR 6, 121, n. 3 are not undeserved, under the peculiar form in which the paper finally appeared. The paper was originally written in opposition to the conclusions of WEIDNER's first brochure, whereas in the second one most of the errors of the first were eliminated (cf. preceding note). To the awkwardness of form was added a plethora of typographical errors, so the result was probably unintelligible to the reader. However, though my reconstruction of Assyrian chronology has turned out to be wrong, the treatment of Babylonian chronology seems to be correct in the main.

OLMSTEAD,³ with whom FORRER, LANGDON and others appear to agree, at least tacitly.

Now the situation is radically changed again, with the suddenness we have learned to expect in such matters. With the publication of SCHROEDER's *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* it speedily became certain that Tukultî-Ninurta's date for Ilusumma⁴ was 720 years before his time, instead of 780 (cf. KAHN 2, No. 48, 14; No. 59, II, 26 f.). Since the date of Tukultî-Ninurta I is fixed with a very small margin of error at 1260 B. C., we must now place Ilusumma about 1980 instead of 2040 B. C. The most important thing, however, is that now the various statements of the Assyrian historiographers become quite harmonious, and it is no longer necessary to resort to the somersaults of which we have all been guilty, or to assume a second Ilusumma, as the writer tried to do.⁵ The simplicity of the Assyrian chronological problem will appear presently; meanwhile we may turn to consider the situation as affecting Babylonian chronology.

Can we accept WEIDNER's reduction of Babylonian dates before the Cossean Dynasty under the present circumstances? First of all, if our synchronisms between Ilusumma and Sumuabum, Irîsum and Sumulailu are right, we must depress Sumuabum to B. C. 2000, or a little later. This would lower the date of the end of the dynasty to not earlier than 1700 B. C., making it overlap the Third Dynasty by half a century—an incredible supposition. The Second Dynasty would have to be placed a generation later than WEIDNER wishes to, about 1850 to 1480 B. C. The discrepancy with the date assigned to 'Ammu-rawiḥ by Burnaburiaš II (from whose inscriptions Nabonidus probably got it) and to Gulkišar by Ellil-nadinapal thus becomes even more serious than it was. There are other serious historical difficulties involved in this undue depression of the Babylonian dates, as we shall see presently. Fortunately there is a solution, as simple as convincing, for the problem under

³ AJSL 38, 225—8.

⁴ In this paper I have resolved to carry the correct form of the sibilants systematically through the Assyrian names. As is well-known, the Assyrians reversed the Babylonian sibilants, every *š* becoming *s* and every *s* becoming *š* (cf. especially TALLQVIST, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. XVIII). In Naši (Cappadocian, the so-called Hittite of the Boghazköi texts), on the other hand, there was no *š*, and every orthographic *š* should be pronounced *s* (see FORRER, ZDMG 76, 201 ff.), so I have eliminated the *š* entirely in transcribing "Hittite" names.

⁵ RA 18, 85.

discussion. We have only to discard all synchronisms between Babylonia and Assyria so far known before the fifteenth century, build up independent systems according to the abundant data furnished us by the monuments, and—behold, all difficulties seem to vanish automatically!

Our only evidence for the supposed synchronisms between the first two kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon on the one hand, and Ilusumma and his son Irîsum, on the other, is derived from the new synchronistic lists found in Assur and Chronicle K, cited above. Now, there is a curious fact which may easily be verified by anyone: if we take the new text Assur 4128, published by WEIDNER, we find that Bêl-bânî is synchronized with Iškibal. Now, counting backward from Bêl-bânî to Ilusumma (including the name—which is doubtless not Ilusumma II—omitted by WEIDNER and SCHROEDER, as pointed out RA 18, 85) we have fourteen names; reckoning back from Iškibal to Sumuabum we also have fourteen. Again, if we take such a fixed synchronism as that of Burnaburiaš II and Asur-uballit, none the less certain that it does not happen to be mentioned in our fragmentary sources, and count back, we find in each case 41 names between them and their respective predecessors Sumuabum and Ilusumma. The conclusion seems inevitable, that the synchronisms under discussion are derived purely from mechanical collocation of Babylonian and Assyrian king-lists, an operation carried out by scribes whose ideas of historical method were radically different from ours. This naturally explains why the entry in Chronicle K is so bald and abstract in character. We may therefore disregard our synchronisms and construct our chronology on the basis of positive material.

If then we place the death of Ilusumma about 720 years before the accession of Tukultî-Ninurta I (1260 B. C.) we obtain a date *cir.* 1980 for his successor, Irîsum I. Now, according to Shalmaneser I, Irîsum built a temple 159 years before its restoration by Samsî-Adad I, while according to Esarhaddon's historiographers, the same period was only 126 years in length. In any case, the career of Samsî-Adad I, the *šar kiššati*, falls between 1850 and 1800. If the scribes of Tiglath-pileser confused Samsî-Adad I with Samsî-Adad III, son of Ismê-Dagân II, as quite possible, they evidently dated the former 641 + 60 years before 1120, or about 1820 B. C. If not, the explanation given RA 18, 86, that the correct figure should

be 581 (641—60) must be right, at least approximately. The date given by Shalmaneser I (1280 B. C.) for Samsî-Adad, 580 years before his time, is somewhat too liberal, since Samsî-Adad I can hardly have reigned so early as 1860. Of course we might, at a pinch, consider Tukultî-Ninurta's date as too contracted, but this would be a desperate expedient, since round numbers are almost never too low; errors of generosity are far commoner than mistakes of economy in Oriental numerical operations. As WEIDNER has seen, the historiographers of Esarhaddon, in assigning a duration of 434 years instead of 580 to the interval between Samsî-Adad and Shalmaneser I, evidently confused the Samsî-Adads, probably basing their calculation on the reign of Samsî-Adad II, which certainly fell about 1715 B. C. (1280 + 434).

It is important to note that the preceding results are roughly confirmed by the position of the different kings in the lists. Corresponding to the 160 years which elapsed approximately from the accession of Irîsum I to that of Samsî-Adad I, there are eight rulers, at least three of whom stood in lineal relationship. Disregarding the house of Adasi, considered illegitimate by the compiler of VAT 11, 262, we have seven kings from Samsî-Adad I to Samsî-Adad II, a disturbed period of about a century or a little more. From Samsî-Adad II to Asur-uballiṭ there were seventeen kings, over half of whom certainly stood in lineal relationship; the interval seems to have been about 340 years, allowing twenty years to a reign, which, in view of the genealogical succession, cannot be far wrong.

The house of Adasi presents an interesting problem, which I believe can be solved in its main aspects by the evidence of the proper names. The fourth successor of Samsî-Adad I, in the regular line, bore the name *Pân-Ninua*, naturally a contraction of *Pân-Ninua-lâmur*,⁶ like the common name *Pân-Assur-lâmur*. Since it means "May I see the face of Nineveh," the father of the bearer could not well have reigned in Nineveh; the legitimate line continued to hold sway in the old capital, Assur, while Adasi and his followers ruled in Nineveh. This also explains why Esarhaddon traces his ancestry to Bêl-bânî son of Adasi; the usurping Sargonids fixed their capital with Sennacherib at Nineveh, and naturally

⁶ See already WEIDNER, *Könige*, p. 13, n. 3.

seized upon a connection with the ancient Ninevite dynasty, whose irregularity had been glossed over by time. The rebellion of Adasi took place, in all probability, soon after the death of the great *šar kiššati*; but after the death of Bêl-bânî the control of Nineveh fell into the hands of foreign mercenaries, whose origin is again betrayed by their names, which are nearly all gentilic. Sabâ'a clearly came from the district of Sabum in the Zagros, often mentioned in the texts of the Dynasty of Akkad, and perhaps connected with the Mount Sabu of the Lugalmarada Epic. *Zimzâ'a* I cannot explain,⁷ but *Lullâ'a* naturally means "The man of Lullu (Lulluwa)," also a district of the Zagros. Sar-ma-Adad, however, who came to the throne about 1750, is surely identical with the Sar-ma-Adad who succeeded Pân-Ninua in the regular line; apparently he reconquered Nineveh for a short period, only to lose it again to the foreign mercenaries. It is hardly likely that the Assyrians regained Nineveh again after the fall of the Adasi dynasty; if this latter event occurred, as seems probable, about 1700 B. C., we find ourselves already in the period of great migrations and of the racial movements which brought the Indo-Iranian Manda into northern Mesopotamia.⁸ Nineveh was doubtless

⁷ As a possibility we may suggest the derivation of the name *Zimzâ'a* from the town and district of *Zinzar* in Syria, often mentioned in the 'Amârnah Tablets (EA 1116 f.), which has been happily identified with the classical Sizara, Arabic Šaizar, modern Qal'at Seizar northwest of Hāmāh. There is no difficulty about the form of the gentilic, which follows the usual law of conformation to the triconsonantal norm; cf., e. g., *Kaski* (i. e. *Kašk*) and *Cašga* for *Kaškaš*, *Gašgaš*, *Subarû* from *Subartu*, *Elamû* from *Elamtu* (like *Makkiyû* from *Makkatu*, etc., in Arabic). The *m* instead of *n* is due to the fact that *m* and *n* were just as interchangeable in Assyrian before a sibilant as before a dental; cf. *ḥamsû* and *ḥansû*, *šamsû* and *šansû*, etc.

⁸ That the Indo-Iranian invaders of Mesopotamia in the second millennium already bore or received the name *Manda* is now certain; cf. the writer, JPOS 1, 75 f. (on the reference to the Manda in the "Chedorlaomer" text) and FORRER, ZDMG 76, 247 ff. In the light of the fresh material now becoming available for the history of the Hyksos irruption (cf. JPOS 2, 121—8), it is certain that this epoch-making event occurred during the latter part of the 19th or the first part of the 18th century B. C. From the fact that the Hyksos leaders were certainly not Indo-Iranians, though there may have been such elements among their hordes, and that the Manda figure prominently among the allies of Kudur-Lagamal in the 17th century (JPOS 1, 75) it becomes probable that the Hyksos were driven out of their homes in Southern Russia or Transcaspia by a great Indo-Iranian invasion. The exact date of the foundation of the Manda states of Mitanni and elsewhere in Northern Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Syria is doubtful; it would seem that they entered into the heritage of the old Hurrian kingdom of Armenia.

a religious center of the Mitannian state from its foundation, which must have taken place about this time—hardly later than 1600 B. C.

Turning then to Babylonian chronology, there is no obstacle left to a readjustment on the basis of the Babylonian material. Since the writer has no new material on this subject, it is sufficient to refer to the treatment of the subject by EDUARD MEYER (GA³ I, 2, 370 f.); OLMSTEAD, AJSL 38, 327; and the writer, RA 18, 86 f., 93 f.⁹ If KUGLER has really, as reported, given up his astronomical basis of Babylonian chronology, the ordinary historian can only have recourse to documentary material. The chronological table given below will show that the historical material handed down from Babylonia, Assyria and Asia Minor is best harmonized by placing the rise of Assyria and Puzur-Asir I during the reign of Samsu-iluna, 'Ammu-rawih's son and successor, when the Sea Lands revolted. The development of Assyrian power under Sarrukên I¹⁰ then falls automatically two or three decades before the fall of the First Dynasty under the attacks of Mursilis I. The brilliant career of Samsî-Adad I falls about a century after the close of the First Dynasty, and probably about a generation after Telibinus, the last great king of the first Hittite Empire.

If we examine the situation in Babylonia between the end of the First Dynasty and the beginning of the Third, a period of about a hundred and eighty years, we find the kings of the Second Dynasty in control, but their capital must have remained in the Sea Lands. It may safely be assumed that Babylon lay in ruins

⁹ The writer's treatment of the chronology of the Second Dynasty was spoiled by insistence on the combination of the Damiq-ilišu alluded to in the date formula of the 37th year of 'Ammî-ditân with the third king of the Second Dynasty instead of with the last monarch of Isin, following Poebel (ZA 20, 229 ff.) and Meyer (GA I, 2³, 453). Now, however, Scheil has proved (RA 12, 200) that we should render "year after which 'Ammî-ditân destroyed the wall of Dûr-Damqi-ilišu;" the town of Dûr Damiq-ilišu is elsewhere mentioned, and naturally derives its name from the last king of Isin.

¹⁰ FORRER's conception of Sarrukên I of Assyria as a great world emperor will hardly stand. The cuneiform geographical text published by SCHROEDER, KAVI No. 92, surely refers to Sargon of Akkad or Sargon II of Assyria; I am inclined to regard it as referring in reality to Sargon II, though undoubtedly clothed in an archaistic garb borrowed from the inscriptions of Sargon of Akkad (cf. JPOS 1, 191 f.). The famous Cappadocian tablet with the impression of Sargon I's seal proves nothing in regard to the extent of his direct power, since the intimate social and business relations between Cappadocia and Assyria about 2000 B. C. are quite sufficient to explain it.

during part, at least, of this time, since no inscriptions from it have been found there. The paucity of inscriptions from the first half of the Third Dynasty may readily be explained because of the illiteracy of the Cossean conquerors, but the kings of the Sea Lands seem, from their Sumerian names, to have prided themselves on their patronage of Sumerian culture, so this solution will not work. It is supposed, to be sure, by adherents of the short chronology, that the rulers of the Second Dynasty controlled only Southern Babylonia and the Sea Lands, but such pompous names as Gulkīšar, "Devastator of the Universe," and Melamkurkurra, "Thunderbolt of Foreign Lands," cannot possibly be reconciled with such an assumption.¹¹ When the unknown capital of this dynasty, perhaps Dûr-Ea of Chronicle K, has been excavated, we will very likely find royal inscriptions which will cast an undreamed of light on kings now known only by name, and victorious reigns now hardly dreamed of. It can hardly be accidental that the first ruler of the Sea Lands whose entire reign fell, according to our chronology, certainly after the fall of the First Dynasty and the retirement of the Hittites, is also the first to bear a magniloquent name, while the last king of the dynasty, Ea-gâmil, whose reign fell certainly after the beginning of the Third Dynasty, is the first to abandon this practise. The order of the first kings of the Cossean Dynasty is different in different lists, so we shall have to wait for more definite information before identifying the Agum and Kaštiliaš of Chronicle K with certainty. It may easily be that the correct order is Gandaš, Kaštiliaš I, Agum I, etc., in which case Ea-gâmil was conquered by Ulamburiaš I, brother of Gandaš's successor. This would also explain why Assur 4128 writes the names Ea-gâmil and G[an]duš in the same line, contrary to its usual practise, and why VAT 9470 places [G]an[duš] after [Melam]mi-ku[rkurra], thus omitting Ea-gâmil entirely. The Cossean invasion may have taken place during the reign of Melamkurkurra (assuming that this monarch ruled somewhat longer than King-list A, which is often wrong in detail, allows him), while the Cossean conquest of the Sea Lands occurred in the reign of Gandaš's successor. At all events, the fact that Agum II was apparently not king of Šumer or Southern Babylonia may be easily explained on the assumption

¹¹ Cf. RA 18, 94, n. 1.

that there was a rival Cossean Dynasty there; we need not suppose, in contradiction to VAT 9470 and Assur 4128, that the Second Dynasty continued to rule until well down into the Cossean period.

In the following table I have tried to present the view of the sequence of events in the age under discussion which appears most probable in the light of the chronology just presented. Naturally, it will be long before we have a definite solution of all the problems hinted at in so summary a presentation, but we need treatments which take into consideration all the elements of the situation. No nation of the Ancient East can be isolated any longer by the historian, and this obvious fact is our justification.

Parallel Chronology of Assyria, Babylonia, Cappadocia and Egypt.

<i>Babylonia</i> (<i>Sea Lands, Elam</i>)		<i>Assyria</i>		<i>Hatte (Egypt)</i>
'Ammu-rawiḥ	c. 2120			
Fall of Larsa	c. 2090			
Samsu-iluna	c. 2080			
Rebellion of				
Iluma-ilu Abiṣū'	c. 2040	Puzur-Asir, <i>iṣṣakku</i>	c. 2040	(Fall of Dyn. X) c. 2040 ¹²
'Ammi-ditān	c. 2010	Salim-aḥum	c. 2020	
(Itti-ili-nibi)		Ilum-summa	c. 2000	(XIIth Dynasty) c. 2000
'Ammi-ṣadūq	c. 1970	Irīsum I	c. 1980	Labarnas of Ḥatte c. 1970
(Damiq-iliṣu II)		Ikūnum	c. 1960	Ḥattusilis I c. 1950
Samsu-ditān	c. 1950	Sarrukēn I	c. 1940	Mursilis I c. 1930
Mursilis takes				
Babylon	c. 1920	Puzur-Asir II	c. 1920	
Babylon under Dyn. II				
Gulkišar	c. 1875			Telibinus c. 1850
Pešgal-daramaš	c. 1820	Samsi-Adad I, <i>šarru</i>	c. 1820	
Adara-kalama		Ismē-Dagān I		Anittas of Kussar c. 1800? ¹³
Ekurul-anna		Division of kingdom		(XIIIth Dynasty) 1787
Melam-kurkurra		Bēl-bānī in Nineveh	c. 1780	Hyksos enter Syria ¹⁴
Gandaš founds				
Dyn. III	c. 1742	Sarma-Adad, reunion	c. 1750	
Kaštiliaš I		Loss of Nineveh		

¹² Cf. JEA 6, 97.

¹³ Anittas' victory over Biyustis of Ḥatte is surely to be placed shortly after Telibinus. Kussar seems to have kept its hegemony until the time of Hattusilis II, who reigned in Kussar. Excavations at this still unknown site will doubtless fill the great lacuna in Hittite history.

¹⁴ Cf. JPOS 2, 122 ff.; ALT, ZÄS 58, 49 f.

<i>Babylonia</i> (<i>Sea Lands, Elam</i>)		<i>Assyria</i>		<i>Hatte (Egypt)</i>
Fall of Dyn. II	c. 1720	Samsî-Adad II	c. 1715	(Hyksos invade Egypt) c. 1690
(Humban-ummena)		Ismê-Dagân II	c. 1700	Irruption of Manda ¹⁵
(Untaş-GAL)		Samsi-Adad III	c. 1680	(Hyksos under Hayân) c. 1670
(Kudur-Lagamal?) ¹⁶	c. 1650			(War of freedom begins) c. 1600
Agum II	c. 1600			(Amosis expels Hyksos) c. 1570

¹⁵ Cf. above, n. 8.

¹⁶ Cf. JPOS I, 71 f.

SOME RECENT LITERATURE ON THE MOSLEM EAST

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, Bryn Mawr College

Die Renaissance des Islâms. By A. Mez. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1922, pp. 491. \$ 3.00.

Le nouveau monde de l'Islam. By Lothrop Stoddard, Paris: Payot, 1923, pp. 323. Frs. 10.

L'Islam et les races. By P. J. André (Pierre Redan). First vol. Les origines, le tronc, et la greffe. Second vol. Les rameaux. Paris: Geuthner, 1922, pp. XXVI, 270 and 325. Frs. 25.

La passion mystique d'Al Hosayn-ibn-Mansour Al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam. By L. Massignon. Two vol. Pp. 1090 and 28 plates. Paris: Geuthner, 1922. Frs. 75.

Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane. By L. Massignon. Pp. 304 and 104 of Arabic texts. Paris: Geuthner, 1922. Frs. 30.

Persian Literature, an introduction. By Reuben Levy. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1923, pp. 112. \$ 1.00.

The posthumous work of the learned Mez is in the main, a survey of Islamic Society in the tenth and eleventh century after the victories of Nicephorus Phocas which brought about a temporary weakening of the Muhammadan power in the Near East. The title Renaissance of Islam is therefore well chosen since from political crises, defeats and divisions, there grew a spiritual sense of unity in Islam, more independant of the political unity of the past. Knowledge of this period would be of great value to those who think that the conquest of Moslem lands by European powers means the ruin of Mohammedanism. Indeed the modern renaissance of Islam is somewhat parallel to the movement studied by Mez, and also due to a political bankruptcy. The work of Mez is thorough and based on very careful reading not only of published Arabic sources but of some of the manuscripts kept in European libraries. One regrets that the author who owes so much to Maqdisî, denatures his name into Muqaddisî. It is too bad that Le Strange

set this fashion among Western Arabists. Mez should have known better, however, since Huart's publication.

Lothrop Stoddard's book treats of this new renaissance of Islam. It comes to us now in a French translation. On account of the present condition of the exchange, German books are dear in America and French books cheaper than ours. There are flaws here and there in Stoddard's book. Some statements are rather exaggerated, as for instance (p. 10) "several generations before Muhammad, Arabia exhibited an exuberant vitality. The Arabs renounced their ancestral paganism and instinctively turned towards higher conceptions." It is scarcely more correct to say that in Persia (p. 13) "the austere monotheism of Muhammad was transformed into a complex mystical worship called Shi'ah." The author had forgotten that the Turks were largely Nestorians before they became converted to Islam, and so he calls them heathen (p. 18). He would also see a connection between Wahabism and Babism (p. 34). But when it comes to modern times—and that is what we are looking for in a book of this type, Mr. Stoddard handles his material with a sure hand and groups it like a master. He shows the rise of pan-islamism, of the new Asiatic unity, which ignores the ancient barriers of religion. He describes the westernization of the East as another cause of unrest, because it brings about more dissatisfaction. He tells us of the new nationalism, and of the social transformation caused by the beginning of industrialism, and its attendant misery for the masses. The West is sowing wind in the East and may reap a whirlwind. The duplicity of European diplomacy (p. 198 ff.) has destroyed the faith of the East in the ideals of Western nations. On all these points, Mr. Stoddard will enlighten the average man as much as H. G. Wells did by his *Outline of History*, although he is of course better informed than Wells. Lord Northcliffe who certainly had a world vision said that Stoddard's book should be in the library of any one who wants to know what the world will be in 1950. The reviewer would perhaps not be so positive, but he will say that the book would help one to understand one of the elements of the new world which is being prepared for our sons.

André's work lacks the scholarly apparatus of Mez, and some of the fairness of Stoddard, but he makes up for it by his first hand knowledge of the Muhammadan world. The author is an officer

in the French army and has travelled much. He knows men. He has read the literature of the subject (in French mostly) and his six pages of bibliography will give to the reader a number of titles of books and articles (not always of great value) which one may not easily collect. The references are sometimes too vague (as in vol. II p. 158), where evidently he was quoting from memory. The leading idea of the book is that Islam is not now such a social unit as people are prone to think. It is like a tree. Suckers growing from the original stock took root in new lands, became separated little by little, so that a tenuous connection kept them united to the main stock (vol. I p. 2). There is some truth in that figure, if you make the tree a banian tree, for the unity of Islam is deeper than André likes to imagine. The author does not like the Turks. Evidently the Turkish nation deserves a severe condemnation since it refused to let the diplomats carve it before it died. No doubt Turkish rule was not perfect in the East, but no other Northern race could have done better. Since European powers interfered, and took advantage of racial differences, a good deal of blood has been shed in Asia Minor, but who is to be blamed for it, is it not first of all, the conquering Westerner? The pan-turanian movement which André fears, and from which he would like to divorce the Arabian Islam, is the result of the diplomacy of the West. The author suggests as a barrier against pan-turanism, a Franco-Japanese alliance, which would also prevent the Anglo-Saxons from conquering the whole world (vol. II p. 320). These are idle suggestions, of course; world-movements are not subject to our fancy. Aside from its political schemes, Captain André's book is one of the best ever written on modern Islam, because it is so well-informed, interesting, clear and orderly.

We have in Massignon's three volumes the most important contribution made by Western scholarship on Islam during several years. Indeed we wish that the two volumes on the Passion of Al Hallaj be known by the general public, for they deal with some of the most interesting problems of history and religion. No one to-day knows Islamic mysticism better than Massignon. He is qualified as a philologist, a scholar, one who has lived for years among Moslems, and who learned with his heart as well as his intellect. The author is a Catholic, and it seems that Catholics devout and otherwise can understand Islam well, partly because

mysticism develops so easily in both systems. Psichari has told us of what he learned in Mauritania, de Foucault considered for a while the possibility of becoming a Moslem. Father Hyacinthe felt very strongly the appeal of the ritual of Islamic prayer. Perhaps some one will tell us what deep psychological affinity is revealed by these facts, and why the hero of the Garden of Allah should be a Trappist and not a Presbyterian. It might help us to understand also how Massignon understood Al Hallaj so well and gave us a real masterpiece. The first volume tells us of his life, of his travels, and ministry of preaching, of some of his miracles. It is arranged like a source book, for that is the only way it could be done, since there is a conflict of testimonies, and a "harmony" would not be history. As you read, you make your own history, or romance. In 913 Al Hallaj was sent to prison by the vizir of Bagdad because he declared openly that he was one with God. He was tried again on the same ground and sentenced to death in 922. He was first scourged, his hands and feet were cut off, and finally he was crucified. His long agony was a triumph, and he pronounced wonderful words. The morning after his crucifixion, he was beheaded after he had given to his disciples two more beautiful sayings. Then his body was burned and the ashes were scattered. He had announced his resurrection and some saw him, risen from the dead. Now Al Hallaj is one of the saints of Islam, and the tomb where part of his body was buried is a holy place, visited by pilgrims.

The second volume deals with the remarkable mystical theology of Al Hallaj. First it takes up its psychology, in its Quranic origin and development in the hallagian doctrine, the "science of the hearts", the degrees of divine presence in the soul and the transforming union. Another chapter expounds Hallagian metaphysics, cosmogony, theodicy, eschatology, and polity. It shows at the end, how holiness is devotion to the community, as well as a permanent union with the divine fiat, which is the Quranic type of holiness in Jesus. A plate facing p. 770 represents Al Hallaj as Christ crucified. It is quite evident that the legends of the Passion of the Bagdad martyr has been worked out in that light from a very early date. However we are dealing here with a teaching concerning holiness which is quite authentic. Massignon gives then a good deal of Hallagian material in translation. He

concludes this volume with an amazing bibliography under 1736 numbers. Number 1695 gives us fourteen titles of previous works of Massignon himself on the Hallagian question.

The third volume deals first with the technical vocabulary of Moslem mysticism. This is of course a most important contribution to Arabic lexicography, a science inchoate as yet. From its very nature, it will not appeal to as large a circle of readers as the former volumes. This section is followed by an historical treatment of Islamic mysticism which is of fundamental value.

Massignon's work emphasizes the importance of the religious element in Islam. He deals with the dynamics of it, which Stoddard and André have a tendency to minimize in their emphasis on the racial element.

Professor Lévy's handbook treats of a literature which in its best part is largely mystical, and with one of the Muhammadan nations who has racially, for better or for worse, been different from the others. His study of Persian literature is very complete, and with its seven pages of bibliography, gives an excellent introduction to the subject. It is written in clear English. Professor Lévy is uncommonly honest. He, a Persian scholar, admits that except to the professed student of Zoroastrianism, the value of the Avesta lies in its philological rather than its literary interest, which is no greater than that of the Levitical portions of the Pentateuch (p. 10). Would that other orientalists had always written as plainly, instead of giving us dithyrambic evaluations of certain of the Sacred Books of the East. Professor Lévy's book deals first with pre-islamic literature, then with the Abbasid period, the Mongol domination, and finally, modern Persia. It is with some sadness that we read in its concluding pages that Western education imported into Persia, has caused a rise of patriotism and nationalism, one feature of which has been the exaltation of the Shah-nama, so that the mystic literature of Persia "the best and most universally appreciated" is now falling into disrepute. We are sorry for the Persians, as we are sorry for other young men from the Near East, who coming to our schools, have lost the ideals of their fathers. Ideas bandied about across the terraces of European cafés will be a poor substitute for Jami and Jellaludin. The great problem in the East is now how can the past be built into the future. André would let the Muhammadans adapt their own culture to changing

conditions, under proper guidance. The trouble is that guidance may be taken for—or even meant to be—interference, and in this case, the Strangling of Persia.

Professor Lévy's work deserves and will certainly have a second edition, towards which we suggest a few corrections. On p. 15 the statement that the Kur'an was the new Bible of the Arabs may mislead readers into the idea that it supplanted an older book. The first paragraph on p. 16 should be rewritten. The saying of Umar is certainly unhistorical and has no place here, and of course there was a literature under the Omayyads. On p. 21, last line the word "somewhat" is not necessary. On p. 28 the statement that Hamadani "invented" the Makamat should be qualified. These small points take very little off the value of the excellent handbook which the American Branch of the Oxford University Press brings to this country.

ANAPHORA OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN ORTHODOX ¹

Translated by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

THE ANAPHORA OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN ORTHODOX
WHICH THEY RECITED TOGETHER, IN THE HOLY GHOST, WITH ONE
VOICE

The introduction

Saying

MAJESTIC art thou, O Lord, in the clouds and above the heavens; glorious art thou in all thy ways. O God, the God of Sabaoth; perfect art thou; never wast thou without existence, never didst thou sin, never wast thou completely manifest in thy divinity, for it was unable to be seen, nor could thy true nature be known. He was glorified in heaven and on earth, and among all that live in the sea, and in the rivers and in all that is in them. By his might were all things created; and by his power he established all! He is one with the Father, and the Father is one God, and the Father is in truth the light and the Son.

The deacon shall say

It was decreed that we announce the substantiality of the Father with the Son and of the Son with the Father before all creation and before the heavens were made, and before the hills were brought forth, and before the fountains of the deep were seen, and before the thunder and lightening broke forth, and before the thunder roared and the lightening flashed, and before the Kingdom was created, and before all creatures which are in the waters under the heavens and earth were made, for no one was so profound as to be able to create his essence. He exalted himself above the heavens, and came forth from the divine abode and created four beasts, all of them full of eyes; and a light went

¹ MERCER, MS. Eth. 3, 168 a—183 a.

forth from their mouth like a flame of fire. And, again, thus he brought forth the earth, and spread out the sea, and the wind, and the fire; and, again, thus he went forth and directed with his right hand, and declared that the kingdom of the Father and of the Son of the Holy Ghost comes not by observation nor by power of thought, for the Son knows what they are—the Son and his Father. The time of probation is not announced, and the question of the day of the Son is unknown. His procession from the Father is miraculous. His essence is not known, for it is hidden. To his Father's right hand he has passed. He is the protector of his Son, even him whom he loves. Even as the Son is like the Father, so the Father is like the Son; but not that the Son may be a companion of creation, but that he may serve. As he was conceived so he did not create the heavens and the earth. It is not that he assisted, for he was able, not being man, who is weak and powerless and inactive. But a flame of fire proceeded from the mouth of him who spoke in his time. He created that which was and the moment that shall be, which is the wisdom of thought and the wisdom of being. As he bore the burden of the world and built with his might so he bore the foundation and made permanent the firmament. He established the waters above and he created the beginning. He developed in simplicity, he was perfected in flesh and he stretched out the heavens; he collected the waters and gave them motion that they may be a body, he decimated the waters into armies and brought them forth in portions, he numbered the portions and explored their heart and depth.

The intercession

The deacon shall say

Ye who sit.

The priest shall say

The Son of the Father is as to the Son, not a day nor an hour was he alone, for his father was with him in the presence of his holy ones. But it is his glory which sanctified those who are fitted with the holiness of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. And he did not create Adam, our Father, nor he who went forth, for he was made of dust or earth and water, spirit and fire, but from his throne he did not move at all, but he com-

pleted all, and afterwards rested. He it was who made us powerful and sustained us after he was revealed. And after he made and finished all; after he created us he justified our sins, and he forgave us; afterwards he created Eve, the mother of life, in paradise he laboured that he might bring into it those whom he loved. In like manner he prepared, that he might bring into it those who love happiness, who crave it and desire it, who choose and select it, who are well pleased with it.

The deacon shall say

Towards the east.

The priest shall say

Therefore with a loud and clear voice, that we may not fail, when he unites wine and water, that we may not be neglectful when there comes forth from his glory. Let us learn of the apostle about the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. The Father corresponds to the Son, and the Son is Jesus Christ, who corresponds to him. The Son corresponds to the Father, for God is the Father of the Son. The Holy Ghost is he by whom the Son came forth from the Father, and by whom the Father received from his only Son council and power and strength. These are not divided, nor are they separated nor are they unequal, nor are they confounded, nor is there anything added to this divinity of God. God decreed for his ministers his own substance. Therefore our hearts speak first and our hearts speak last, our hearts rejoice and our hearts give thanks, and our hearts speak praise, and our hearts exult, our hearts supplicate, and our hearts desire, yet no man knows exactly his will. We are united and we declare him to all. We make him known to all. We took him away from obscurity, and we brought him near to those we are far off. We proclaimed his will and his love, and we showed forth his tenderness, the tenderness of the heart of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

The deacon shall say

Behold the door and the dwelling of my Father and our Father, the Holy Ghost; the dignity and beneficence and benevolence of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost; the fire and flame

and coal, like their essence and like their perfection; and time which is not for ever, but his day which is for ever and ever, henceforth world without end.

The deacon shall say

Let your thoughts be on high, etc.

The priest shall say

The Lord be with you all.

The people shall say

With thy spirit.

The priest shall say

Let anger be far and let compassion and goodness be multiplied. Never let them end. Let them ever be with us. Let sin be put away, and let us turn to Him. When our sin is put away, and cleansed by the waters of the flood, let those who obey His word, and who are in the presence of their Father, preserve, protect, and justify those who are one with the eternal God of Gods, the eternal Light of Light, the eternal one whom we name and call the Son. As the face of the earth and as the face of the place of his throne is robed in fire, so will habitation be adorned with water above his abode and around it, whence it is poured out from above. From his presence there shall go forth thunder as the brilliance of fire, bright and great as the brightness and greatness of lightening round about. Before him who is on the throne are four beasts, who carry above their heads an expansive throne, with a large canopy, and around about the throne are four and twenty priests of heaven. All men look upon these beasts, and upon one clothed and sprinkled with blood, with writings on his head. And they prostrate themselves before the throne three times, and to him who is clothed and sprinkled with blood with the writings on his head. And there went up a sacred smoke which filled the temple and all space beneath it. He who sat upon the throne was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone; and there was a rainbow around about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. And round about the throne were four and twenty seats, and upon the seats were seen four and twenty elders

sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they have on their heads crowns of gold. And out of the throng proceeded lightings and thunderings and voices. And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God. And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal. And in the midst of the throne, and around about the throne were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within. And they rest not day and night, saying, holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. And when those beasts give glory and honour and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power, for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

We pray thee, O Lord, give ear; judge, we beseech thee, O Lord, on behalf of those who sleep and rest after this transient life, and after the power of death have come upon them and the tomb has closed its mouth upon them.

We pray thee, O Lord, that thou wouldst awake those, whom thou wilt raise victorious, and whose body will rise and unite itself with the soul, and that thou wouldst give them a good reward, such as eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, and such as the heart of man has not comprehended, and who will be united with thy Son, Jesus Christ, for ever and ever.

The deacon shall say

On behalf of those who sleep.

The priest shall say

O God, the Father, who didst send thine only Son that he might take up his abode in flesh; who was transfigured though not knowing death; confined in the womb though not restrained,

living in this world though not limited, who became man though God, he was born though the essence of life, he was nurtured though the source of life; he was exalted in glory though a son, he was supreme in power though subject to punishment, he gave commandment to his family though subject to their care, he submitted to John for his baptism though he was creator, and pure from sin, he was the sources of all though he changed water into wine to satisfy the multitude in the field.

The Institution

The priest shall say, stretchig forth his hands

Have mercy upon them who close their eyes that they may not see him, who are deaf that they may not hear him, who withheld their hearts that they may not understand him—he who was like unto man, yet without sin. He was made a judge of judges and selected from among men his twelve apostles. He came among them and manifested himself a witness of the mystery of the eucharist. He took bread in their presence; he blessed and break, and said unto them: “Take, eat, this bread is my body which is broken for you for the remission of sins.” Likewise, he blessed the cup and said: “Take, drink, this cup is my blood, which is poured out for you for the remission of sins.” In the same night that he was betrayed, they took him, and at daybreak the elders of the Jews and the Chief Priest with Pilate, the governor, sat in council to judge him—the just and gentle, as a lamb, meek and mild—they sat in council to judge him, surrounding him. In their presence the hosts of Angels might have smote them! But they smote him, who was without sin: they cast him down—him before whom they should have prostrated themselves; they acted arrogantly towards him, before whom the archangels prostrated themselves with great fear; they placed upon his head a crown of thorns; they stripped his garment from him and clothed him with a purple robe; they led him forth to crucify him, to a place called Calvary, bearing his cross; he became fatigued with the weight of the cross, for it was heavy; they counted him with his malifactors, and make him subject to the cross; they crucified him without compassion, even as a sinner; they led him forth and pierced him with a spear. O sacred feet that were pierced

with the spear; O sacred mouth—bitter was the water, bitter the myrrh, bitter the gall mixed with vinegar. Jesus cried in pain and supplicated his Father. He bowed his head, and gave up the Ghost. They pierced him in the side with a deadly spear. He died. They took him down from the Cross and placed him in a sepulchre—not in a sepulchre for the foreign, but for the elect. They wrapt and bound him with love and care.

The Inclination

The priest shall say

The Lord be with you all.

The people shall say

With thy spirit.

The priest shall say

Give ye thanks unto our God.

The people shall say

It is right, it is meet.

The priest shall say

Lift up your hearts.

The people shall say

We life them up unto the Lord our God.

The Lord's Prayer

Our Father, who art in heaven, thou art our Lord and our God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ. He existed before creation in his divinity. He came down from heaven. He was crucified. He died and was buried. He rose again on the third day. He ascended into heaven. On the day appointed, he appeared to his disciples, transfigured, pierced in hands and feet, and he remained with them teaching them of his kingdom. On the fortieth day he ascended into heaven, to the Father, who sent him. He again went forth, to those in sin, with glory in the clouds of heavens. O Lord have mercy upon us, according as we put out trust in thee.

The Communion

The people shall say

As thy compassion, etc.

The priest shall say

Let us assemble together to render thanks to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Vouchsafe, O Lord, thy unity to all those who desire it. Let all those who receive it be purified by it, and let all those who share it be satisfied. Let the roots of sin be burned up; let iniquity be eradicated; let blame be done away; and let the soul be perfectly regenerated from sin. Let the door of light be opened, and let the glorious portals be revealed. Let thy Holy Spirit, from above, be sent upon us. Let him descend, and come; and let him transform the bread that it may become the body of Christ, our God, and let the chalice be changed that it may become the blood of Christ our Lord. Let the congregation be perfected in holiness. Let the Church teach them, teaching them love, purity, and long-suffering, for ever and ever.

The priest shall say the prayer of the Fraction

The priest shall say

Let us adore.

The priest shall say

O God, maker of all things, giver of all things, container of all things, whom angels and archangels worship, powers and dominions, might and strength, the sun, the moon, and stars, and all grades; for from the beginning subjection, majesty, and dominion are his. He who was rich in all made himself poor in all. Love drew down the mighty Son from his throne, and brought him even to death. O rich, who resisted not those who dragged him along, and bent his neck to those who slaughtered him! O Lamb, who was dumb before his shearers! O patience, who opened not his mouth in his suffering, before those who smote him. O bread, who came forth from the treasures which Joseph brought, and found therein the precious gem of the onyx. O chalice, who came forth from the virginal chamber! This sign of the cross, which is separate from the bread, is not separate or different, the form and

softness, and taste are one. As the form of this sign of the cross is not separate nor different from the bread, in like manner his deity is not separate nor diverse from his humanity. And therefore he is not separate nor diverse. This sign of the cross is not separate from the bread. Thus thy majesty was commingled with our lowliness, and our lowliness with thy majesty, O Lord our Almighty God.

The deacon shall say

Pray.

The priest shall say

Let sweet odour come forth, and purify your spirits, your souls, and let it not depart from us. Behold, Emmanuel is with us—the Lamb of God and his oblation! Behold the Father of Light is with the Son and with the Holy Ghost! Behold the angel of light is with us to offer up this mystery, for ever and ever.

The priest shall say

The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand before the Saviour of the world, even the body and the blood of the Saviour of the world. And let us come before the face of the Saviour of the world, in the faith of him we follow.

The deacon shall say

Ye who are standing.

The priest shall say

We beseech thee, O God, by the love of thy Son, Jesus Christ, that thou wouldst lead us before the greatness of thy majesty. To thee be glory, for ever and ever.

Prayer of Penitence, while the priest turns, breathing

In the beginning was the Word; the Word was the Word of God; the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, as of the only begotten of his Father; and the Word came forth from the Father, and as many as receive him to them gave he honour and glory.

The deacon shall say

Pray.

The priest shall say

The Cherubim and the Seraphim surround us, and stand before him with their hands before their eyes, and their ears intent to hear him.

The Benediction*The priest raising his hand*

O God, our Lord and our God, and our Saviour, Jesus Christ, bless and sanctify us, that we may be meet to partake in these holy mysteries. Give us, we beseech thee, thy body and blood. Admonish us that we may be obedient unto thee. Send to us thy Holy Spirit, that he may guide us into all truth, and that he may instruct us to eat and drink of the life-giving food. Let us all draw nigh to God in faith, in humility, and in adoration; in prayer and in purity. Let us come in the fullness of his grace, and in the reality of his body and blood, which were given for us. Let the hands of the priesthood, who offer up prayer and praise at all times for us, ever be with us and over us. Let the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox ever intercede for us, for ever and ever, Amen.

SHORT NOTES ON THE AMARNA LETTERS

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, Bryn Mawr College

1. In Knudtzon 35 l. 54 and 55 read *ḫad-mi-iš*.
2. Kn. 64 l. 22, translate, whom I had forgotten.
3. Kn. 102 l. 13 *tiḫtati gabba*, I am at the lowest.
4. Kn. 117 l. 55, translate, then there will be a breathing space (lit. breath) for me.
5. Kn. 127 l. 12, read [ri-ib]-addi, Rib-addi will bring forth.
6. Kn. 127 l. 20, read [en-ni]-ip-ša.
7. Kn. 127 l. 25, whether I have loved Gubla the faithful city.
8. Kn. 129 l. 7, who are they? Heavy dogs . . .
9. Kn. 129 l. 16, who is very heavy.
10. Kn. 129 l. 54, read *tu-ḫa ba-li* . . . now thou waitest without [hope].
11. On the basis of Kn. 29 l. 141, *ia-nu-um-ma-a*, l. 142, *e-ip-pu-uš-ma-a*, *i-na-an-di-na-a*, l. 102, *mi-i-na-a* (Ch. Harper's Letters 792 obv. 10 *mi-nu-u*) I raise the question whether the lengthening of the vowel does not stand for an interrogation.
12. Kn. 120 l. 23, UR is probably the womb and the first word in l. 24 may have been a form of *pitû*, open.
13. Kn. 120 l. 34, translate, they will obey (without it).
14. Kn. 143 l. 6, 7, translate, thou art the eternal sun, the good breath of [the Sun God?].
15. Kn. 29, 182 and 185, *giš-KU-SAG* is a mace.
16. Kn. 147, 56, *nuḫti* and *batiti* are equivalent and mean I rested or I am at rest.
17. Kn. 127, 8, *raḫalu* is from a form RGL and may mean he has acted deceitfully.
18. Kn. 117, 63 shows clearly that people thought that the land of Amurru could be conquered in *one day*. This needs no commentary as to the size and political importance of it.

REVIEWS

Le milieu biblique avant Jésus Christ. By Ch. F. Jean. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1922, pp. 360.

Those of us who were initiated into things Babylonian by Jeremias' *Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East* envy our younger brothers who will learn to know the culture of the Near East in Jean's book. This is the work of a good assyriologist, who has ably edited difficult texts, and has understood them, who has no theories of his own to force upon a limited reading public, who examines facts honestly and subjects his judgment to the evidence of archeology, who thinks clearly, writes well, has a well balanced mind. The author surveys successively prehistoric times, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Canaan, the Egean, the Egyptian supremacy (or Empire). He begins a new chapter with the coming of the Northerners (or as he calls it, the great maritime migrations). This introduces the Philistine and Hebrew invasions, Assyria and Babylonia. Cyrus opens a new period including Persian, Greek and Roman history, Hellenism, the revival of Jewish nationalism, Palestine and Greco-Roman times. There are a number of supplementary chapters giving archeological tables, classified historical periods, lists of patesis and kings in Babylonia, Assyria and Elam, important dates. These are followed by elaborate indices, lists of Sumerian, Accadian, Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek words and biblical quotations. It is quite evident that Mr. Jean does not want to say everything in his book; his treatment of the Egyptian material will not please some Egyptologists who have been accustomed to take the lion's share in things Eastern and who will probably be displeased to see Babylonia placed before Egypt. Jean's treatment of Amurru is blissfully ignorant of our American controversies on the subject, although of course the author knows them well. We wonder why South Arabia is not taken up by him among countries which had some influence on Palestine, at least in connection with Gaza. We note that the author accepts the *short* chronology for Egypt and dates Hammurabi from 2123 to 2081. And of course he does not identify the Hebrews with the Habiri. The reviewer never could understand

how this identification could have ever been made in the face of the geographical evidence of the Amarna letters which certainly is far more important than philological arguments in these matters. The best parts of the book are those dealing with Sumerian civilization and Canaanite chronology; they are marvellously accurate and packed with information which is so well presented that one does not realize at first what deep scholarship the author is certainly showing with the greatest simplicity of form. JOHN A. MAYNARD

La Mésopotamie — les civilisations babylonienne et assyrienne. Par L. Delaporte. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1923, pp. 420. Frs. 15 net.

This is volume 8 of the first section of a series of books on the Evolution of Humanity published by Mons. Henri Berr, director of the *Revue de Synthèse historique*. It has been sadly needed in French, for while France has always been in the fore-front of archeological research in Mesopotamia, she has done very little in comparison with her activities along Egyptological lines, to make the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia accessible to the general reader. In fact, the period previous to the time of Hammurabi has never before been thus presented.

The work is wisely divided into two parts, the first dealing with Babylonia and the second with Assyria. This is as it should be for while Assyria inherited the culture and civilization of Babylonia, she impressed her own character and war-like colouring upon it. The same order is followed in both sections, namely, first a historical background, then a discussion of the art, literature, and science of the civilization under consideration. The work has been excellently done, and is provided with a good index. There is very little to criticize, although, it might be suggested that *kurkur* (p. 17) does not mean "countries" but "mountains" or "hills" or "uplands." The book is thoroughly reliable and takes its place among the best works on the subject.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society. No X. London and New York: (Longmans, Green), 1923, p. 66. 7 s. 6 d.

This volume gives us several valuable articles and reviews. W. M. Calder writes on the medial verbal *-r* termination in Phrygian. W. J. Perry who knows megalithic culture so well compares it to

Hebrew mythology in *An Interpretation of Old Testament Traditions*. The gods of Genesis must be interpreted in the light of Ezekiel 28, as beings akin to the kings of Tyre, who could animate images, who lived in paradises, who could walk on hot stones, who were connected with the sky, and superior to mankind. In *Sky-folk in the O. T.* M. A. Canney studies the *mal'akhim*.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Introduction of the Cadmeian Alphabet into the Aegean World in the light of Ancient Traditions and Recent Discoveries. By Robert Eisler.

This is a reprint from the January and April numbers of the J.R.A.S., 1923, in which the author upholds the truth of the theory of ancient Alexandrian scholars that Cadmus brought the alphabet to Greece from Egypt. His arguments are convincing, and should be read in detail in order to be appreciated.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Syllabus du Cours sur les Origines de l'Art et l'Histoire de l'Art Orientale Antique. 3^{me} Partie — L'Égypte. Par Louis Speleers. Bruxelles: Musées Royaux du Cinquanteaire, 1923, pp. 66.

Herein one finds an excellent outline of the history of Egyptian Art, introduced by four chapters, one on Egyptian Geography, the second on Ethnography, the third on History and Chronology, and the fourth on Religion. The next chapter (which should be V instead of IV) begins the syllabus of Art, which is full and detailed.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Das palatinische Septizonium. By Theodor Dombart. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1923, pp. VIII, 146. Grundpreis 8 Mk.

Sayce, Thureau-Dangin, and Jastrow had already called attention to the similarity in name between the Septizonium built in 203 A. D. by Septimius Severus and the name of some Babylonian stage towers, Septizonium being taken by them as equivalent to E-ub-imin. Dr. Dombart, an authority on the stage-towers of Babylonia, gives us now a reconstruction of the Roman monument with true architectural acumen. The author rightly thinks that the aim of the monument is to show Caesar as ruler of the whole world and even of time. There is no direct relationship with Babylon.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Archives from Erech. Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus. By R. P. Dougherty. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923, pp. 67, pls. LVI.

Goucher College measures up to the highest standard of a College's appreciation of scientific research. It is natural to expect that creditable collections of Babylonian tablets be found at such places as Yale, Pennsylvania, Harvard, and Chicago. But that a collection of 1000 tablets is found at Goucher College, a larger collection than these at Smith and Haverford, is highly to its credit. The Goucher College collection is due to the interest of its president, William W. Guth, and to the co-operation of Professor Clay.

In the volume before us Dr. Dougherty has published the first part of this fine collection. Other volumes will be published under the general title of "Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions." The inscriptions in this first volume of the series belong to the time of Nebuchadrezzar, and other tablets in the same collection belong to the time of Nabonidus, Nabopolassar, Cambyses, Amel-Marduk, Darius, Cyrus, Neriglissar, Kandalanu, and Barzia. Nearly three hundred are uncertain as to date, and more than fifty are in Sumerian, and belong to a very early period.

Selected texts are transliterated and translated with lexicographical notes. Many of these texts will be found to be of inestimable value to the student of ancient civilization. For example, No. 35 is a lease of property from a woman for four years, showing that a Babylonian woman in the sixth century could own and lease considerable real estate; No. 15 deals with the bailment of a man; &c. No. 355 relates to Belshazzar, the famous son of Nabonidus. On page 35, Dr. Dougherty has written an interesting note on ^{mat}Te-ma-a, which occurs in No. 294, in which he shows that Arabia was intimately connected with Babylonia in the sixth century B. C.

The translations and discussions are followed by indices of personal names, names of places, names of temples, and names of canals and gates. A full catalogue of the tablet is given, with a list of contents. The autographed texts, covering fifty-six plates, with four hundred and twenty texts, have been excellently done. Goucher College is to be doubly congratulated, first on its possession of such a fine collection of tablets, and, secondly on the fact that

its staff has among its members a scholar who is capable of publishing them in such detail, with such accuracy, and so acceptably to the best cuneiform scholarship.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Archiv für Keilschriftforschung. Herausgegeben von Ernst F. Weidner. Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1923.

This is the first number of the first volume of a new periodical devoted to Cuneiform, and if all succeeding numbers be as interesting as this one, there will be no need of complaint. We welcome this new periodical and pledge Dr. Weidner our earnest support.

Number one contains the following articles: Astrologische Texte aus Boghazköi by the editor; Textkritische Bemerkungen zu einem medizinischen Kompendium by Meissner; Hymn to Ishtar by Langdon; Schenkungsurkunde des Kurigalzu by Ungnad; Ein medizinischer Text aus Kujundjik by Ebeling and Unger; and a short article by Schroeder on ^dŠarrat-niphi. The number ends with some notes and comments. The whole is in type-written form. We look forward with much interest to succeeding numbers.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien. Von Julius Lewy. Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1922, pp. 85.

Dr. Lewy has published in autograph form a series of interesting studies. It is hoped that he will continue them. This series is devoted to the Cappadocian texts. In his preface he discusses the dative verbal suffix in Old Babylonian, in Assyrian, and in the Cappadocian texts. Then a section is devoted to the demonstrative pronoun, another to a discussion of the divine name Sin, and still another to a study of the Old Assyrian language. Then come thirteen texts in translation, with good notes. Finally there is a list of words discussed.

This book is indispensable to students of Babylonian and Assyrian Grammar, and is a long step forward in the direction of the creation of a norm whereby the age of literary material can be estimated on the basis of grammatical forms.

In his discussion of the name Sin he thinks that the pronunciation of Zu-in = Sin was simply ZU. His discussion of the early form of Assyrian contains many interesting points, connecting Assur and

Ishtar with the cities Aššur and Kaniš as their respective sacred cities, and showing that Ušpia and Kikia probably do not represent the earliest stage of Assyrian history. These interesting studies must be carefully read in order to be fully appreciated.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection (The Art Institute of Chicago). By T. G. Allen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. 173. \$ 1.50, postpaid \$ 1.60.

This is a model of what such a handbook should be. It is not a mere catalogue of the Art Institute's fine collection, but is really a guide, illustrated by the Institute's objects to Egyptian sculpture, art and literature. There is an excellent résumé of Egyptian history, a brief chronological table, some notes on Egyptian art, and a history of this particular collection. Then Dr. Allen arranges his materials thus: Coffins, relief sculpture, statues and statuettes, ushebtis, glazed ware, minor arts in stone, metal work, beads, amulets, scarabs, papyri, and Graeco-Egyptian paintings. Each section is arranged chronologically, and interspersed with valuable historical and religious observations, and with notes on sculpture, architecture and art. The whole is well documented. Would that every Egyptian collection were as well published!

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

König Echnaton in El-Amarna. Von Clara Siemens und Grethe Auer. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922, pp. 23, pls. 16. \$ 3.00.

Here in romantic fashion the famous writer Grethe Auer represents herself as living in the time of Rameses II and tells of the remarkable reformation in art and religion brought about by Ikhnaton. She has coloured her story by her own deep feeling and social vision. She is a deep admirer of Ikhnaton and sees in him a man of truth and reality, who wishes to see things as they are.

As a work of art this reconstruction of Grethe Auer is unsurpassed. But whether it represents with accuracy the condition of affairs in Ikhnaton's time is highly doubtful—almost certainly not. Nor does history tell us that Ikhnaton was the ideal person as he is herein represented.

In sixteen beautiful plates Clara Siemens of Berlin has reproduced many of the scenes of Ikhnaton's times, which archeology has

brought to light. Miss Siemens' drawings represent the ideal rather than the real, and are often far more beautiful than the originals, or at least make the originals seem far more beautiful than they really are.

The work is beautifully and artistically produced, and well worth its modest price. No oriental library should be without it.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum. Von Adolf Erman, neu bearbeitet von Hermann Ranke. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922, pp. 692, pls. 42, illustrations 276. Gebunden Suiss Frs. 45.

No greater and important work has been published for many years. The work is not entirely new. It is a new edition of Erman's great work, which was published over forty years ago. The work has been done by a first-class Egyptologist, Hermann Ranke. It has been expanded, corrected, and enriched, while retaining its original divisions and order. There is the same number of chapters, and each chapter bears the same title, but each one has been most thoroughly brought up to date, although whole paragraphs here and there stand almost word for word as they were in the earliest edition.

Erman has written a brief and interesting preface, in which he gives expression to his complete confidence in Ranke's work, and tells about the way in which he undertook his own original work. Ranke also writes a brief preface.

A careful reading of this new edition reveals on almost every page results of the material published since the time of Erman's work, for Erman had finished his book before the publication of Petrie's great works, before the publication of the Tell el-Amarna Tablets, and before the publication of the Pyramid Texts and many other important Egyptian texts.

Anyone acquainted with the original form of Erman's book or with it in its English dress by H. M. Tirard, under the title, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, will not experience any difficulty in using this new edition. But it nevertheless calls for a complete reading, for at every turn the evidence of new material is found.

It goes without saying that no important library, and no student of Egypt can possibly do without this newly written and illustrated *Ägypten*, written and re-written by two great masters of Egyptology.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Le Chapitre CLXXXII du Livre des Morts. Par Louis Speleers. Paris: Librairie Edouard Champion, 1923, pp. 86—104.

In this reprint from the *Recueil des Travaux* Dr. Speleers has published an interesting text on a limestone slab, which was acquired for the Musées Royaux du Cinquanteaire at Brussels by Capart in 1907. When it was bought it was said that it came from Memphis. The text is a part of the 182nd chapter of the Book of the Dead, a part of the Book of the Dead which does not happen to have many versions. This text belongs to the Nineteenth Dynasty, and that, together with three others, is used by Speleers to reconstruct the text of the 182nd chapter. The reconstruction has been well carried out. The text is then given (in a four-fold form where necessary) and a translation is made. The article ends with a careful discussion of the composition of the chapter and a helpful commentary.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die Kenitischen Weihinschriften der Hyksoszeit im Bergbauggebiet der Sinaihalbinsel und einige andere unerkannte Alphabetdenkmäler aus der Zeit der XII. bis XVIII. Dynastie. Von Robert Eisler. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1919, pp. 179, pls. 13.

This book has now been on the market for nearly four years, and has been often reviewed. The subject of which it treats has been discussed more or less thoroughly in many journals and by many scholars, among them Gardiner and Sethe. Ranke, in *O.L.Z.* 1921, 298 F., writes a rather unfavourable review, and much of what he says may be justified. However, Eisler has certainly brought together a good deal of material, and while he probably has not proved his point, namely, that the Sinai inscriptions contain a Canaanitish dialect of the Hyksos period, he has accumulated much evidence to the effect that they contain a Semitic writing, influenced by the hieroglyphic.

The work must be taken into consideration in all future discussions of the important problem which its author tackles.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

"And in the Tomb were found." By Terence Gray. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1923, pp. 236. \$ 2.50.

Though not for the Egyptologist, this book is none the less interesting, for it portrays the human element in the relics of

ancient Egypt. The author takes several personalities, Khufu of the Old Kingdom, a representative of the Middle Kingdom, Rameses II of the New Empire, and a representative of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and he presents each in the setting of his own time. The book is well-worth reading, even by a scientific student of Egyptian.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die messianischen Weissagungen des Alten Testaments. Von Eduard König. Stuttgart: Chr. Belser, 1923, pp. 366.

This is a great subject treated by a really great scholar. Professor Dr. König has presented the scholarly world with a fine discussion of Messianic prophecies, abundantly enriched by comparative, historical, and exegetical material.

There are four chapters, the fourth of which covers pages 71—356. The work proceeds in a very logical manner. Chapter one consists of definitions of the ideas of prophecy, Messianic, and Messianic prophecies. These definitions are concise and in agreement largely with conservative Old Testament scholarship, although his definition of prophecy is more conservative than that which would be acceptable to most Old Testament scholars, and it is herein that König's book will be most severely criticized. His interpretation of prophecy is very largely the well-known old-fashioned one, and will not meet with much sympathy with students of Old Testament prophecy.

The second chapter has to do with the background of Old Testament Messianic prophecy, and König rightly finds precious little in Babylonian, Egyptian and other nearer oriental literature, which has to do with a real conception of a messiah. He goes over the usual ground, familiar to students of oriental literature, and seeks in vain for real Messianic prophecies.

In chapter three, Dr. König carries on the discussion of Chapter two instituting an inquiry as to the possible historical relationship between Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament and those passages in oriental literature which have been taken as Messianic.

The author's real work begins with the fourth chapter, wherein he traverses the whole field of Hebrew and Jewish Messianic prophecies as it appears in the Old Testament, in the Apocrypha and in the Pseudepigrapha. Every passage is scrutinized from Gen. 3. 15 to the latest Jewish pre-Christian evidence. There are some instances where König is at one with modern higher critical findings, such,

for example, as the dating of the Book of Daniel. But on the whole his attitude is that of conservative Biblical criticism, emphasizing the predictive character of biblical Messianic prophecies. However, this is a work to be reckoned with, splendidly arranged and thoroughly worked out. No Old Testament student can afford to be without it.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die Bedeutung des Namens Israel. Eine geographisch-geschichtliche Untersuchung. By E. Sachsse. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1922, pp. 91.

In a former pamphlet on *Die Bedeutung des Namens Israel, eine quellen-kritische Untersuchung*, Professor Sachsse had defended the thesis that Israel was originally the name of a people and that the name of an individual was secondary. He investigates which people is meant by Israel. He first studies the Davidic boundaries, ideal and real, making a moderate use of cuneiform sources to illustrate the biblical material. He then investigates whether or not Davidic boundaries were larger than even ideal Israel. Then the main problem is whether Judah belonged to Israel or not. The author takes up data which might show that Judah did not belong to Israel, namely the fact that Judah is not mentioned in the song of Deborah, the testimony of 1 Sam. 27, 10 and 2 Sam. 19, 44. He shows that there was a religious bond of unity between the North and the South, which is embodied in the name Israel.

Professor Sachsse writes clearly and his argumentation is always solid. We shall look forward to the third instalment of his work which will give us his religious interpretation of the name Israel. However, we have a feeling that the first two sections have really been a development rather than a preparation of his etymology *eliašar* which he defended already in ZAW 1914, 1. ff. This etymology is questionable in the light of Semitic onomatology. Besides the name Israel has been found by Scheil in cuneiform at such an early date that Sachsse's etymology and perhaps his discussions may apply to the name Jeshurun but not to Israel.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Guide de Terre Sainte. Par le P. Barnabé Meistermann. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1923, 26 maps, 14 plans, 110 plates, pp. 748. Frs. 25.

As the preface of this work points out, this guide was prepared especially for Roman Catholics. This fact is emphasized by appending

the Stations of the Cross. But it is hard to imagine a better guide to the Holy Land, from the point of view of the average traveller, than this one. Besides the twenty-six tours arranged and described, the book is replete with abundant and valuable information. It begins with advice as to equipment, the best season to visit Palestine, means of travel, passports, money, &c., &c., and ends with a series of well-chosen extracts from the Old and New Testaments. It seems to be a far better book than Baedeker in many respects, and this second edition is brought thoroughly up to date.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Parallelism in Isaiah. By William Popper. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1923, pp. 116 + XXI.

This book is No. 5 of Volume I of the Series on Semitic Philology, published under the editorship of Professor Potter, by the University of California Press. It contains a reconstructed Hebrew text of Isaiah 1—35 and 37, 22—35. The object of the publication is to show typographically the overwhelming preponderance of parallelism in the received Masoretic text, and to show how great or how small are the changes necessary to restore the original form of the oracles contained in these chapters.

There is an Index of verses and a list of corrections. The text is beautifully and very accurately printed, and serves as a most suitable text with which to introduce students to a study of prophetic literature.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Targum to Canticles according to six Yemen Mss. compared with Textus Receptus as contained in De Lagarde's Hagiographa Chaldaica. By R. H. Melamed. Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1921, pp. 117.

This dissertation for the Ph. D. degree offered by a student at Dropsie College is all a model thesis should be, a thorough treatment of a limited subject. After a short but very clear general introduction, the author takes up the various manuscripts and then notes the textual variants, the grammatical variants and the errors. He then reproduces in extenso the text of his manuscript A, a very good British Museum text and gives the variants in the margin. While the Targum to Canticles has little value to textual criticism of the Old Testament because of its late date, the philological and religious interest of it is very great. Dr. Melamed died recently and will be missed among us.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection. Edited by William H. Worrell. New York: Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. XXVI + 396. \$ 4.75 net.

Pages XXVI + 112 of this book are a reprint of Part I of this work which appeared in 1916 under the title "The Coptic Psalter." Part II consists of pages 113—396, and contains a Homily on the Archangel Gabriel by Celestinus, Archbishop of Rome, a translation of which Dr. Worrell gives, and a Homily on the Virgin by Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, from Manuscript Fragments in the Freer Collection and the British Museum. This also Dr. Worrell translates. As in the case of the Psalter so here, the editor prints the Coptic text. The work is magnificently printed by the Norwood Press in Massachusetts. An excellent list of Contents is furnished, as well as an index of Coptic words and forms, an index of Greek words, an index of Biblical passages, an index of Names and Places, and an index of Words in other languages.

Part I contains, besides the Sahidic text of the Coptic Psalter, a Psalter fragment and a Job Fragment. This is all introduced by full accounts of the manuscripts, their nature, appearance, contents, and affinities. There are some photographs of the texts, two of which, on plate II, are photographed upside down. The text is furnished with critical foot-notes which will be found useful, and is an earlier one than Budge's but later than Rahlfs'. It lies in date between these two, that is, between 700 and 400 A. D.

The two Homilies are splendidly edited. Both were written certainly before 975 A. D. They will be found of great interest to students of the history of dogma and homiletics. At the end of Part II is a short Magical text, consisting of a single leaf, written in a Middle Egyptian dialect. Its contents deal with the perils of the deep and sickness.

The whole work of editing has been excellently done, and Oriental students are greatly indebted to Dr. Worell for these excellent texts, full notes, and reliable translations. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die Syrische Jakobosanaphora nach der Rezension des Ja'qôbh von Edessa. Von A. Rücker. Münster in Westfalen: Verlag der Aschendorff'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1923, pp. 120.

Professor Rücker gives us as the fourth of the *Liturgiegeschichtlichen Quellen* edited by Mohlberg and Rücker a very thorough

study of the text of the Syriac anaphora of James according to the recension of Jacob of Edessa. In the introduction he classifies the manuscripts and printed texts, and compares the Syriac text with the Greek. He then gives us both of these texts with complete notes on the variants, ending with scripture, Syriac and Greek indices.

Liturgical students are greatly indebted to Dr. Rücker for the accuracy of his work, the excellency of his method, and the completeness of his erudition.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Coptic Theotokia. By De Lacy O'Leary. London: Luzac & Co., 1923, pp. 80. 10 s. 6 d.

In this book the author has published the Coptic hymns to the Virgin, using as a basis for his text Vatican Cod. Copt. XXXVIII, Bib. Nat. Copte 22, 23, 35, 69, and other MSS. as well as fragments recently found at the Dêr Abû Makâr in the Wadi Natrum. He gives in the original Coptic the Theotokia, or hymns to the Virgin, for each day of the week, even preserving the mis-spellings and errors of the originals. But this is as it should be, for the student has a real facsimile of the originals before him.

In an introduction Dr. O'Leary discusses the probable authorship of the hymns, and gives valuable details as to the use of the Theotokia in monasteries and secular churches. The work is indispensable to students of Oriental liturgics and will be found useful by all Coptic scholars.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Commentary of Father Monserrate on his journey to the Court of Akbar. By J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1922, pp. 287. \$ 3.00

Father Monserrate's memoirs covering his missionary embassy to Akbar remained unedited until 1914 when the Latin text was published by Father Hosten. The volume now before us gives us the first translation in English by Hoyland of this valuable source, with excellent notes by Mr. Banerjee. The preface begins with a comparison between Akbar and Asoka which leads to a valuation of Akbar's character far different from that of H. G. Well's *Outline of History* for instance. Akbar had no intention of becoming a Christian, and even if he had been so inclined he was too much of a cunning politician to have entertained it very long. The editors show that he was far more interested in the Sikhs and the Jains,

and of course of himself. Father Monserrate's account of his visit to Akbar's court is a very interesting book as well as a valuable historical source. It is very naive and yet keen, scholarly and extremely uncritical. We see in his book how worthless the reports of travellers can be, when they deal with religion and customs. The good father saw at Gwalior thirteen nude Jain sculptures; they must be to him Christ and his apostles. He and his companion had constantly to engage in controversy with Moslem doctors and these discussions became as many victories of Western scholarship and Western Koranic knowledge: no doubt Akbar was delighted to see what was for him two foreign fanatics baiting the no-less fanatical mullahs. It is interesting to show how the latter are driven to propose an ordeal by fire which the Jesuits very wisely and keenly declined to undergo because fire they said had indeed consumed by accident many Korans as well as Bibles. Father Monserrate does not seem to have learned in all the years he spent in India that the Hindus are naturally courteous and that approval of his statements did not mean really very much. Finally he became discouraged by what was now clearly Akbar's drift towards Hinduism and they withdrew from his court after accompanying him to Kabul on a military campaign. The book would be difficult reading without Professor Banerjee's accurate notes, without which the quaint spellings of the missionary would be hard to understand. We would only take exception to the statement (p. 22) that Hassan was poisoned by his wife. This is at least doubtful. This is the only criticism we would make of a book which deserves to be well known, for its archeological and historical value as well as for the human interest of it.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Die Koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicäa. By Felix Haase. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1920, pp. 123. Grundzahl 4.

Dr. Haase has herein given an excellent translation of the Coptic text of the Council of Nicaea, with excellent introductions and notes. He shows that the Coptic texts were not official, but grew out of different sources brought together into one body of canons. His discussion of the theological importance of the Coptic sources is particularly good. Dr. Haase sums up his fine piece of work with a series of results in a most convenient form.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

L'Islam et la Psychology du Musulman. By A. Servier. Paris: Challamel, 1923, pp. 480. Frs. 10.

This book is of very unequal value. The author knows modern history but, in spite of a praiseworthy industry, is not very familiar with historical methods. His sources and authorities are usually not quoted by page and used most uncritically. One wonders whether he knows much of Arabic for surely the statement that the colloquial Arabic of Algeria is punic (p. 266) is stupendous. The author does not know modern historical works, not even Lammens whose Yezid would have given him a few more points in his controversy against Arab culture. For the book is polemic through and through. M. Servier is even pro-Turkish because he dislikes the Arabs so. He understands better the new movement in Islam and there he has something of value to say. He advises the settlement of thousands of French women in Algeria as missionaries of the modern *civilisation laïque* of France. He would use the white Fathers to christianize the Berbers, although the results so far have been very meager. On the whole, one has the impression that the author does not quite know what should be done, and indeed who does? The Moslem problem is not an easy one; it will not be solved by methods which make a hundred converts or so to Christianity and a few "men without a country" while the native population increases by millions and is antagonized by the policy followed. The method of Napoleon III which Servier criticized as quixotic is probably better.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Südrufland im Altertum. By M. Ebert. Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1921, pp. 436. Marks 34.

This is one of the volumes in the *Bücherei der Kultur und Geschichte* edited by S. Hausmann. The author studies successively the country, its history first from earliest times to 2200 B. C., then from 2200 B. C. to the Greek colonisation, then the Scythians, their tombs, their kurgans, the Greek cities, their tombs, the late Hellenistic and Roman periods and the coming of the Huns. The volume is abundantly illustrated. Dr. Ebert is a master of his subject and will long remain an authority for those of us who because of their ignorance of Russian are not able to follow up the current literature of the subject. There is much in Herodotus that is made clearer

by him and much that the student of Assyrian and Persian history will read with the greatest interest.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Bakitara or Banyoro. The first part of the Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa. By John Roscoe. Cambridge: University Press, 1923, pp. XVI, 370, 1 map.

The Mackie Ethnological Expedition was fostered by Sir James G. Frazer and entrusted to Mr. Roscoe, a former missionary of the Church of England in East Africa. This volume, the first result of the Expedition is one of the best ever written from an ethnological point of view, partly because Mr. Roscoe is a trained observer and an authority on Bantu customs, partly because he had no one with him who knew English; indeed there is nothing in the book to tell you that the writer is an Englishman, except of course his mastery of a clear cut English. The Bakitara (or Bunyoro as they are called on our maps, and even in the author's own map) are part of the Negro-Hamitic people called Bahuma, shepherd invaders from the North. The conquered aborigines were chiefly agricultural. There were various clans both among the pastoral people and their serfs, and clan exogamy was enforced, with the exception of the royal family. The totem was the greatest factor in marriage relationships. There was one God, with two other names; he had no priesthood and no temples; in time of distress prayers were made to him (or to them, if the other names were formerly subordinate gods) with hands and eyes raised skywards. This God left the care of this world to beings, offspring of God, who lived as men, and then being immortal departed, leaving behind them their priests. Mr. Roscoe describes these priests male and female, the magic rites, taboos and omens; the king's life surrounded with taboos is described in detail and then the customs of the people, the cattle taboos, agricultural life, industries, warfare, and hunting. There is a very complete index, and the book is illustrated with a large number of photographs. It is quite certain that Mr. Roscoe's book will be much quoted by every student of semi-primitive culture. Let us hope that in the near future, other negro-hamitic tribes will be studied as thoroughly, before Africa's traditions be transformed by foreign influences and an iconoclastic brand of civilization. If only there were a hundred men like Mr. Roscoe at work now! This volume like everything coming

from the Cambridge Press is perfectly presented. Sir Peter Mackie's generosity has had its reward.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Vue générale de l'Histoire d'Afrique. By G. Hardy. Paris: Colin, 1922, pp. 220. Frs. 5.

Mr. Hardy's survey of the History of Africa is the only complete history of Africa from ancient to modern times and it is fair and well proportioned. The author studies first Africa before Islam, then Islam and the growth of African empires, the coming of Europe, and the growth of African rationalism. The author knows the Northern part of the African of course better than the Southern which is far less interesting to the French readers, but he has certainly given us an excellent piece of work. The book is well written, the introduction especially betrays the hand of an expert geographer. The author believes as everybody eventually must that Africa has gone through a process of dessication, the Sahara was inhabited in prehistoric times and Negritos lived in its Southern part. The dessication of the region bordering in Senegambia can be studied since the foundation of the city of St. Louis. This dessication is of course of great importance to us as bearing on the original home of the Semites since Arabia is really a part of the Sahara. The author accepts Maspero's historical views more than we would be disposed to do. In Sudanese questions he follows Delafosse but does not apparently think much of Frobenius whose views are not mentioned, as they should be, for after all they are not altogether questionable. The chapter on the awakening of modern nationalism is excellent and alone would be worth more than the price of this excellent little book.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. By Ivor H. N. Evans. Cambridge University Press (N. Y.: The Macmillan Co.), 1923, pp. VII, 299. \$ 7.00.

In the course of investigations carried on during the years 1910—21 Mr. Evans acquired the material for the present book. In reading it we have to keep in mind the author's purpose, to present "storehouses for facts to be made use of by students of custom and religion" (p. 198), not to set forth final results; the time for these, in the judgment of Mr. Evans, has not yet come

(p. v). Consequently there is little attempt at explanation, rather we find the simple recording of what has been seen and heard. Folk-lore and custom are emphasized more than religion. Generally speaking the book does not add much to our knowledge of the religious beliefs, this is due partly to the reserve of the people in talking of their religion, partly to the author's ignorance of the various dialects. Sun-worship seems to be more commonly practised, animistic beliefs appear everywhere, idols are few, priestly offices are commonly exercised by women. There is little evidence of totemism. Most of the folk-tales have no apparent religious application, and the same may be said of the tabus; but further study may show a religious significance which does not appear at first sight. There is much of interest in the folk-tales, especially in the creation stories (pp. 45 sqq.); P'landok, a species of small deer, plays the part of B'r'er Rabbit. In the recorded customs we find much that is unique. Mr. Evans has put us in his debt by furnishing this copious supply of information concerning a comparatively little-known people, and setting it forth as readably as he has done, for there is not a dry or dull line in his book.

F. H. HALLOCK

Hymns from the Rigveda, selected and metrically translated.
By A. A. Macdonell. New York: Oxford University Press, 1923,
pp. 101. \$ 0.85.

This remarkable little book is one of *The Heritage of India Series*, edited by Bishop Azariah and Dr. Farquhar. It is scholarly and sympathetic. The author gives us first a short introduction on the Rigveda, its theology, and the life of the Aryans. This is followed by forty hymns classified under a separate heading for each god. Many of us had already read portions of metrical translations of the Vedas in Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* and thought then that they could scarcely be improved. Apparently the author has not been satisfied with his own work. The beautiful hymn to Aranyani for instance is corrected in several places. Dr. Macdonell's book is more than an epitome of Vedic theology, or a guide to the earliest literature of India. It is an inspiring piece of work. It will arouse the interest of many in Vedic studies.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

A History of Hindu Political Theories. By U. Ghoshal. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1923, 309 pp. \$ 5.50.

The history of political theories among the Hindus was frozen out of Western Orientalism by Max Müller when he proclaimed the dogma that Hindus, being philosophers and adepts of passivity, had no place in the political evolution of the world. This opinion pleased certain interested people for reasons that it is needless to explain. Writers of text-books, and even of source books on political science may therefore be excused if they did not even mention India as a field of study for the youth of American colleges. Their authors are not of course aware of the existence of the Arthashastra which has only recently come to light but even of books long known to Orientalists as the Manusamhita and the Santiparvan sections of the Mahabharata. The Oxford University Press is therefore doing a real missionary work among our intellectual class, sadly misinformed on political subjects, by bringing to us the works of N. N. Law and more recently the excellent history written by Professor Ghoshal. The author knows Sanskrit and Pali of course, he is thoroughly at home in Western methods of investigation, he accepts the cautious chronology of European Sanskritists, he understands the meaning, the value, and the purpose of historical perspective, which we usually call the evolutionary point of view. The first phase of his book covers the period of the Vedas, Brahmanas and Upanishads. Vedic kings were at first mere captains of war, league chiefs like the rulers of the German invaders of the Roman Empire. However, we find already in the Rig Veda a doctrine of the king's divinity which, in the Brahmanas is made to justify a more despotic authority. This dogma arose in the usual way of interpretation of the sacrificial ritual; it can be easily understood as parallel to the process of deification of Brahmins. At the same time, a nobility of service crowded out the old nobility of birth. Mr. Ghoshal shows that in the Brahmanas we find also the germ of the Buddhist theory of the social contract rediscovered in Europe not so long ago. In the second chapter, the author shows the political theories in the process of normal growth. In the Dharmasutras, the concept of Dharma is held to be derived from the Divine will, but it embodies as well the idea of unity of society in a diversity

born of a thorough specialization. Mr. Ghoshal shows then the broad agreement of the Arthasastra with the Dharmasutras. He examines various theories on Kautilya's work and shows that it is a masterful reconstruction of older material. Thus does it differ from Machiavelli's work. The following chapters take up the Mahabharata, the Manusamhita, the synthesis of the Arthasastra and Dharmasutras, the work of scholiasts and commentators, Kaman-daka, the minor Smritis, and the Puranas. Mr. Ghoshal handles this mass of material very lucidly, and does not allow interest to lag even in his presentation of medieval political theories. Very vividly he shows the constant interrelation of ideas and the unifying thought which is that in India, polity is a true partnership in a life of virtue. Western writers do not always appreciate this deep ethical value of Hindu collective thought, or its religious inspiration. Its very artificiality is the result of a pure idealism. Mr. Ghoshal claims, and we think also demonstrates, that Hindu political thought resembles more the medieval and modern European thought than the Greco-Roman. The reviewer agrees with him and thinks that it is one of the many redeeming features of modern thought and of its affinity with real religion. It follows from Mr. Ghoshal's point of view that Hindu political theories do not belong to a museum of curious antiques from strange parts, but that the men to whom the British Raj has given the privilege and the responsibility of being the political pedagogues of India, will do well to study the history of its political theories with care and carefulness, sympathy and patience. Indeed we do not see how one can afford to ignore Mr. Ghoshal's book if one cares to think out some of the problems of present India, and that means, the future of the British Empire. Mr. Ghoshal's book was printed by the Banerjee Press of Calcutta, and the fact that it is published by the Oxford University Press dispenses us from saying more. There is a good index and a good working bibliography. Altogether it is a fine piece of work.

JOHN A. MAYNARD.

NECROLOGY

Friedrich Delitzsch †

Von OTTO SCHROEDER, Berlin.

Am 19. Dezember 1922, bald nach Vollendung des 72. Lebensjahres, ist Friedrich Delitzsch in Langenschwalbach verstorben. Der am 3. September 1850 in Erlangen als Sohn des bekannten Alttestamentlers Franz Delitzsch geborene Gelehrte hatte von Haus aus ein starkes Interesse an der orientalistischen Forschung, nicht zuletzt am Alten Testament. 1873 promovierte er in Leipzig mit einer Arbeit über indogermanisch-semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft; dann ging er nach Jena, um Sanskritstudien zu treiben, und hier war es eine fast zufällige Begegnung mit Eberhard Schrader, die Friedrich Delitzsch der Assyriologie zuführte. Ihr hat er ein halbes Jahrhundert als Forscher und Lehrer dienen dürfen, in Leipzig, Breslau, und seit 1899 in Berlin, wo ihm neben der akademischen Lehrtätigkeit auch die Leitung der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Königlichen (jetzt: Staatlichen) Museen übertragen wurde. 1919 legte er zunächst sein Museumsamt, am 1. Oktober 1920 auch die Professur nieder und übersiedelte nach Leipzig, um sich völlig dem Abschluß einer Reihe größerer Werke (Supplement zum Assyrischen Handwörterbuch, Sumerische Lesestücke, Wörterbücher zum Alten Testament und zum Koran u. a. m.) widmen zu können. Mitten aus seinem rastlosen Schaffen ist er während einer Reise nach kurzem Krankenlager dahingerafft worden, viel zu früh für seine Wissenschaft.

Delitzsch's Bedeutung für die Assyriologie kann nicht leicht überschätzt werden, seine vornehmliche Begabung lag auf philologischem Gebiet, speziell in der Lexikographie. Er hat in erstaunlich kurzer Zeit die Hilfsmittel geschaffen, die jeder Assyriologe heute sein Eigen nennen muß: 1896 erschien sein „Assyrisches Handwörterbuch“ — das größer angelegte „Wörterbuch“ blieb Torso —, 1889 die „Assyrische Grammatik“, bis 1912, fünfmal von Delitzsch's eigener Hand autographiert, die „Assyrischen Lesestücke“. Seit Delitzsch sein anfängliches Mißtrauen gegenüber dem Sumerischen

überwunden hatte, bemühte er sich, für das Sumerische die gleichen Hilfsmittel zu schaffen, wie er es für das Akkadische (Assyrische) getan; als Frucht seiner Arbeit konnte er 1914 in schneller Folge drei Werke erscheinen lassen: „Sumerisches Glossar“, „Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik“, „Kleine Sumerische Sprachlehre für Nichtassyriologen“.

Man hat Delitzsch nicht mit Unrecht zum Vorwurf gemacht, daß er die Arbeiten der Fachgenossen allzu wenig beachtet und dadurch manchen Irrtum, der längst richtiggestellt war, konserviert habe. Als Entschuldigung hat er selbst darauf hingewiesen, daß seine Absicht gewesen sei, die Texte aus sich selbst zu erklären und jede mögliche Beeinflussung von außen zu vermeiden. Daß Delitzsch in der Tat so zu erstaunlichen Resultaten kam, werden die Kritiker nicht leugnen können. Den besten Beweis für die Güte der Delitzsch'schen Arbeitsweise liefern jene Arbeiten, mit denen er neue Gebiete der Assyriologie erschloß; ich nenne besonders den Aufsatzzyklus „Zur assyrisch-babylonischen Briefliteratur“ in Band I und II der „Beiträge zur Assyriologie“; ferner Arbeiten wie die über „die Sprache der Kossäer“ 1884 und die Berliner Akademie-Abhandlung über die von Winckler in Boghazköi gefundenen „sumerisch-akkadisch-hettitischen Vokabularfragmente“, 1913.

Daß die Philologie und ebenso die Schriftkunde letzten Endes Hilfswissenschaften sind, die dazu dienen sollen, den sachlichen Gehalt der Schriftdenkmäler wissenschaftlich einwandfrei herausstellen zu können, bedarf keiner Erörterung. Auch Friedrich Delitzsch verdanken wir, nicht zuletzt infolge seiner einzigartigen philologischen Begabung und seiner intimen Kenntnis der Keilschrift eine große Anzahl wertvoller Werke und Abhandlungen anderer Art. Die Frage der „Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems“ hat er 1896 eingehend behandelt; sie ist freilich noch heute kontrovers, obwohl oder vielleicht richtiger weil wir die Keilschrift jetzt weiter zurückverfolgen können als damals. Zwei Abhandlungen der „Sächsischen Gesellschaft (jetzt: Akademie) der Wissenschaften“, deren ordentliches Mitglied Delitzsch in Leipzig und Breslau war — die Berliner Akademie verstand sich leider nicht zu gleicher Ehrung — behandelten eingehend „Das babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos“ (1896) und „Die babylonische Chronik“ (1906) in für den damaligen Zeitpunkt erschöpfender Weise.

Zu den wertvollsten Arbeiten Delitzsch's überhaupt möchte ich seine 1881 erschienene Monographie „Wo lag das Paradies?“ zählen, die eine vorzügliche Darstellung der Geographie des alten Orients enthält.

Verwunderlich erscheint mir, daß Delitzsch, der in den Museen von London, Paris, Konstantinopel und Berlin sowie bei seinen Reisen nach Assur und Babylon zahllose Texte kopiert hatte, so wenig mit eigenen Textpublikationen hervorgetreten ist; sie beschränken sich eigentlich auf die fünf Auflagen der „Lesestücke“; dagegen hat er zahlreiche Publikationen anderer durch Mitteilung von Abschriften und neue Kollationen tatkräftig unterstützt; viele der in den von ihm in Gemeinschaft mit Paul Haupt herausgegebenen Serienwerke „Assyriologische Bibliothek“ und „Beiträge zur Assyriologie“ erschienenen Arbeiten geben davon Zeugnis.

Seit Gründung der „Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft“ hat Delitzsch zu deren tatkräftigsten Helfern und Förderern gehört. Es ist kaum ein Heft „Mitteilungen“ über Grabungen in Babylon oder Assur erschienen, das nicht irgendwie Beiträge von Delitzsch enthielt. Mit Rat und Tat hat Delitzsch die Grabungsleiter unterstützt und dafür gesorgt, daß ihnen umgehendst die Bedeutung namentlich der neugefundenen Bautexte bekannt wurde, mit Eifer auch sich der Aufgabe der Herausgabe der Assurtexte gewidmet. Dann aber besaß die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Delitzsch den rührigsten Werberedner. Zahlreiche Lichtbildervorträge hat er zu ihren Gunsten gehalten, die dank ihrer fesselnden Form und vorzüglichen Illustrierung stets dankbarste Aufnahme fanden; gedruckt liegen vor: „Im Lande des einstigen Paradieses“ 1903, „Mehr Licht“ 1907, „Handel und Wandel in Altbabylonien“ 1910, „Das Land ohne Heimkehr“ 1911. Gleichsam eine Begründung der auf Befehl Kaiser Wilhelms II. vorgenommenen „Sardanapal“-Aufführungen der Berliner Oper bietet die Studie „Asurbanipal und die assyrische Kultur seiner Zeit“, 1909. Alle diese Schriftchen enthalten auf streng wissenschaftlicher Basis Darstellungen aus der assyrisch-babylonischen Kulturgeschichte in einer auch den Nichtassyriologen verständlichen anziehenden Form.

Bis zu einem gewissen Grade gehören hierher auch die berühmten „Babel und Bibel“-Vorträge (1902), denen Delitzsch einen guten Teil seiner Bekanntschaft bei Nichtassyriologen, aber ebenso viel Anfeindungen zu verdanken hat. Noch heftigere Angriffe

brachten Delitzsch seine Vorträge „Zur Weiterbildung der Religion“ und die Doppelbroschüre „Die große Täuschung“ ein; daß Delitzsch Irrtümer unterliefen — und wer unterläge solchen nicht! — berechtigte noch längst nicht zu so unparlamentarischen Äußerungen, wie sie von gegnerischer Seite gelegentlich fielen.

Der Assyriologe Delitzsch hat so viel für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft getan, daß die Dankbarkeit dafür hätte mitsprechen sollen. Die von einem alttestamentlichen Problem ausgehende Schrift „Wo lag das Paradies?“ wurde schon erwähnt; die Bearbeitung von George Smith's „Chaldäischer Genesis“ (1876) und F. Mürdter's „Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens“ (1891) wollten hauptsächlich alttestamentlich Interessierten dienen. Besonders bedeutsam sind die „Prolegomena eines neuen Hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament“ 1886, die „Philologischen Forderungen an die Hebräische Lexikographie“ 1915 und vor allem die eine unerschöpfliche Fundgrube darstellende Klassifizierung der „Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament“ 1920, alles Vorarbeiten zu dem im Manuskript fertigen Wörterbuch selbst.

Die nur eine Auswahl des Wichtigeren enthaltende Rundschau möchte ich nicht abschließen, ohne noch auf zwei Kriegsschriften hinzuweisen, die so recht den abgeklärt versöhnlichen Geist erweisen, der in Friedrich Delitzsch lebte; die eine ist die Wiedergabe der am 15. Dezember 1914 gehaltenen Rede „Psalmworte für die Gegenwart“ — eine Predigt voll wärmster Frömmigkeit, der die Hörer in Andacht lauschten —, die andere die lebenswürdig verständnisvolle Schilderung der „Welt des Islam“ (1915).

Noch ein Wort über Delitzsch's Persönlichkeit, wie sie sich seinen Hörern und Mitarbeitern zeigte. Delitzsch war der geborene Lehrer. Mit Sorgfalt bereitete er sich auf seine Vorlesungen vor, auch auf die Anfängerkollegien; daher gelang es ihm, selbst die schwierigste Materie in so faßlicher Form vorzutragen, daß allen Hörern das Mitkommen möglich wurde. Die Gabe, zu fesseln und anzuregen, kam ihm wie im akademischen Unterricht so erst recht bei seinen Vorträgen aufs glücklichste zu statten. Seinen Untergebenen war er ein warmherziger und freundlicher Vorgesetzter; und wenn etwas zu bemängeln wäre, so höchstens das, daß er Gegnern und Feinden gegenüber — und die hatte sogar er — allzu anständig und nobel war, und daher — woran auch die zunehmende Schwerhörigkeit eine Mitschuld trug — sich lieber

zurückzog als den Kampf aufnahm. Denen, die ihn gekannt haben, wird Delitzsch als Forscher, Lehrer und Mensch teuer bleiben.

Carl Bezold †

Von OTTO SCHROEDER, Berlin.

Wie Friedrich Delitzsch ist auch Carl Bezold (am 21. November 1922) einer Lungenentzündung erlegen. Ein Menschenalter hindurch hat der am 18. Mai 1859 Geborene die Professur für orientalische Philologie an der Universität Heidelberg bekleidet und der dortigen Akademie seit Gründung, zuletzt in leitender Stellung, angehört.

Die Assyriologie ist ihm namentlich für zweierlei Dank schuldig. Das erste ist die Sichtung und Katalogisierung der im Britischen Museum aufbewahrten Schätze der Bibliothek Ašurbānips. Bereits 1886 erschien der „Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur“, in dem neben den veröffentlichten Keilschrifttexten bereits 1700 Tafeln des British Museum kurz besprochen waren. Die seit 1889 erschienenen 5 Bände des „Catalogue of the Cuneiform tablets in the Kouyoujik Collection of the British Museum“ bilden das Fazit einer mühsamen und entsagungsreichen Museumstätigkeit, und sind für jeden Benützer Londoner Texte von größter Bedeutung, zumal dank der reichhaltigen Indices des letzten Bandes. Das zweite ist die Herausgabe einer Fachzeitschrift, 1884/85 „Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung“, seit 1886 „Zeitschrift für Assyriologie“ genannt, bis vor kurzem noch mit dem Zusatz „und verwandte Gebiete“, die für assyriologischen Geschmack freilich jahrelang zu viel Raum einnahmen. In den „Zeitschriften“ sind eine große Anzahl Aufsätze und Bemerkungen Bezolds enthalten, nicht nur assyriologischen Inhalts, sondern fast mehr noch über arabische, syrische und äthiopische Texte und Autoren.

Von Bezold stammt die Bearbeitung der Sanheribtexte in Band II der „Keilinschriftlichen Bibliothek“ und die der babylonischen „Achämenideninschriften“ (1892) in der „Assyriologischen Bibliothek“. Zusammen mit Wallis Budge edierte er „The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum“ 1892, denen er 1893 den „Oriental Diplomacy“ betitelten Band mit Umschriften und Indices nachfolgen ließ.

Weiteren Kreisen wurde Bezold durch die nach Form und Inhalt gleich ausgezeichnete Monographie „Ninive und Babylon“

bekannt (1904). Die assyriologischen Arbeiten der letzten Jahre erschienen zumeist als Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie; zusammen mit Boll behandelte Bezold mehrfach astrologische Texte, insbesondere um die Verbindung zwischen Keilinschriften und griechischen und arabischen Autoren nachzuweisen.

Seit Jahren arbeitete Bezold an einem Thesaurus der Assyriologie, dessen Einrichtung etwa der des Berliner Ägyptischen Wörterbuches ähnlich gedacht war; als Proben veröffentlichte er 1915 „Historische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur“, d. h. Umschrift und Übersetzung der von Messerschmidt veröffentlichten Urkunden, 1920 „Babylonisch-assyrisch alāku, gehen“.
